1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

684 husband—or rather, usually, from her mother-in-law. When brought back she endures one hundred lashes on the back, and is led to her husband's house with the same "ceremonial" as related above, after having asked for a guarantor and made her thumb-print on a statement.

583 Once in a while, also, a future son-in-law who is working for his future father-in-law, in order to marry the daughter, disappears with the daughter. After one or two years they return, and ordinarily the parents are delighted to see them again, and no more complaints are made.

525 681 ●543 In cases of gambling, a fine is imposed on the offenders for the upkeep of the temple or to defray the expenses of the religious celebrations performed by the shaman at the village in spring and autumn. All kinds of interesting and dramatic cases occur. Wives complain about their husbands; widows who do not intend to remarry complain about members of the family prodding and teasing them to remarry; widows willing to remarry are hindered from remarrying; or the price for a bride is not paid at the fixed time; or a betrothal is broken off, etc.

627 Two particular cases may be described in detail, because of the light they cast on the type of cases handled by chiefs and elders, and on Monguor society in general.

In the first case, in the valley of Hungnai, in 1918, Chang Chia-pa, a Chinese whose family had been enrolled in a Monguor clan for many generations, had a daughter married "with the girdle" [5] who was the mother of a lovely boy. He also had a son, a daughter-in-law, and grandchildren. The girl of the girdle, who was always having trouble with her sister-in-law, finally could not stand any more, married a man named Hou Yu-liang as his concubine, and took her son with her. Hou paid her father four hundred strings of cash for her.

After five or six years, during the festivities held at the second moon in Weiyuanp'u, a Chinese peddler from Ho-nan province, named Li, made trouble with Hou Yu-liang for having, as he complained, married the

585 [5] When a girl who is unwilling to marry has relations with a guest, custom requires that the guest present his girdle (sash) to the girl. In the event that she subsequently becomes pregnant, she performs the rites of marriage with the sash, and she is thenceforth known as "Mrs. So-and-So" (guest's name), and the son as "boy so-and-so," even if the guest never comes back during her whole life.

The importance of the girdle is worth noting. Among the Mongols of the Ordos, according to Fr. Mostaert, when on the day set for the marriage the groom falls ill and is unable to attend the ceremony, his girdle is sent to the bride and she performs the rite of marriage with it. I never met such a case among the Monguors, and it appears that the girdle is used among the Ordos Mongols in circumstances quite different from those in which it is used among the Monguors. We note also that kidnapped widows prove before the court of the village their unwillingness to marry so-and-so by showing the girdle which was exchanged with so-and-so. Father Mostaert told me that when shamans in the Ordos perform their rites, removal of the girdle is one of the most important acts. This custom is unknown among the Monguor shamans.

/20 cont'd/

584 Custom requires that the engaged couple not have relations before marriage and that they avoid each other as much as possible.

● [593] We are in the Orient. Parents are absolute masters of their children. They do not conceive of marriage as being their children's personal business. With them marriage is today a family matter, as it was formerly that of the whole group, or the community.

181 Nowadays the T'ou-jen family seeks its own advantages in it,
178 and the interested parties find it natural that the general welfare precedes the individual welfare, just as formerly their families, living in clans, in compact groups, found it natural that the welfare of their private families be subordinated to that of the whole group.

584 The evolution of the T'ou-jen individual today has not yet reached the point where his personal interest takes precedence over that of his family. Parents alone, then, decide the marriages of their children, and the latter find this custom rational and accept, with their fatalistic way of thinking, the often deplorable consequences of it.

/21/ However, it can happen, when a girl has not been sought in marriage at an early age, which is unusual, that the young people have talked about things other than the fine weather. In these cases it is natural that there are preferences and that the parents take them into account, provided they are not injurious to the interests of the family and especially those of the mother-in-law. But this case is the very great exception because the children are already betrothed before they have been able to make a choice.

3. When the Marriage Proposal Is Made

The marriage proposal is rarely made after the young people are old enough to understand the importance of this act and are capable of manifesting their preferences. Besides, nobody has ever thought of waiting until the children were old enough, for marriage is the task of the parents and not of the children. But such a case can occur upon the death of one of the betrothed persons toward the time of the marriage; again, it can occur in a family which was too

M 585 /61 cont'd/

[431 178] According to what they claim, in former times the bride's parents used to make the present of a handsome horse to the son-in-law at the moment of departure. The custom does not appear to exist any longer.

M [593] The bride's father and mother do not participate in the festivity, but her brothers, sisters, uncles, and aunts are all present.

When the bride is on the way, all the guests who stayed overnight follow in a group; the gift bearers wind up the procession. The bride laments all the way, leaning on the bag of straw placed on the horse's neck, her head always enveloped in the coarse veil. These tears, these sobs, constitute a real elegy. She addresses herself aloud to her parents, her brothers, her sisters; she has a good memory about each one of them; she calls to mind their goodness, the gifts; she recalls the animals in the stable, her paternal home... then she is M [606] afraid of the future, of her parents-in-law, whom she does not know; she is afraid of being cursed by her mother-in-law, afraid that the name of her mother will be used in order to curse her. Often in these elegies there are splendid sallies, very naive, very deeply felt; the M [607] girls also /62/ learn this kind of literature in their play; the sisters-in-law teach them, and they teach one another. It is an elegy based on life. Similarly touching ones are heard at burials. (1)

HM 585

1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 309 and following. On the preceding day, two lamas go on behalf of the husband-to-be to find out from the parents of the bride whether any obstacles have arisen (German translation: The Mongols do not have the custom of going to get the bride. The evening before the departure they content themselves with sending two men for....). As the day nears, the wife-to-be pays visits to her closest relatives and spends at least one night at the home of each of them having a good time, going walking with her friends, who

/82 cont'd/

21. Relations of the Married Couple with the Daughter-in-law's Family

593 585 a) Relations of the married daughter with her own family after the wedding.

The daughter-in-law is incorporated into the family of her [776 782] husband. We have seen that upon her arrival at the door of the house she was given chopsticks and a jug of gin, and that then she was taken to the kitchen to honor the god of the hearth of her new family by prostrating herself three times and presenting her offering of gin and her chopsticks.

Henceforth she will call the members of her husband's family by the same name that he calls them; in speaking of them to a third person she will add the term gadin, which means relatives by marriage.

Because the husband's family bought her, she has become its property; her original family no longer has any rights over her. One /83/ expects therefore that the relations of the married daughter with her own family would be broken, or at least that they would be very much reduced. Now this is not the case, as the long and frequent visits she continues to make to her parents after the wedding prove, as well as the custom of keeping her valuables and her clothes in her original family.

593 574 As a matter of fact, custom has it that the husband takes his wife and children to the home of their relatives in the first month of the year. His wife will stay with her family for ten or 20 days, often for even a month. When this period has gone by, her brother takes her back to her parents-in-law. Toward the fifth of the fifth moon the husband takes her to her family for the second time. This visit is shorter; after a few days her brother takes her back. About the fifteenth of the eighth moon the husband takes her to her parents' home for the third time. This time she stays there 15 or 20 days or even a month. The fourth visit to her family takes place in the last [527] month of the year and lasts about 20 days. Her brother brings her back for the festival of the god of the hearth, a festival which

593 /83 cont'd/
574 daughters-in-law cannot miss on any pretext. Each time the trip is
[527] made on horseback, and the husband comes back home the same day or the next.

When the two families live in places too distant from each other, for example, two days or more, the daughter-in-law makes only two visits a year to her parents. The first is made after the sowing, about the third moon, and lasts a month, the second after the threshing of the wheat, about the eleventh moon; it lasts a month and a half or even two months. The daughter-in-law will always be back for the festival of the god of the hearth.

[562] Women over forty can go to their own families whenever they like.

Outside of these customary visits there are cases of sickness in the family, mourning, marriage, celebration for a first-born child, etc., and each time the married daughter does not fail to be present.

/84/ This is the customary thing. However, in practice these visits depend on many circumstances. It may happen that the daughter-in-law's family is poor and does not want to entertain its daughter and her two or three small children. Then these visits will become shorter and less numerous. It may happen that the relations of the daughter-in-law with her family are less intimate, then of course they see one another less. When the parents of the married daughter are dead, the brothers and the sisters-in-law invite their sister less. Likewise when the married daughter has several children, she will not be able to take them all away with her, and she will not want to leave them for as long a time and so often. If the husband and wife get along well together and the daughter-in-law is well treated by the mother-in-law, her visits will naturally be reduced; but although reduced, they are always extraordinarily frequent.

In general, these visits are the cause of many troubles in the two families because they are too prolonged and too frequent. They give the young wife every chance for relations that are not praiseworthy at her place of origin, and these end up by chilling the relationship with her husband. During these visits the daughter often complains about her mother-in-law; then her parents, in order to

/84 cont'd/
593 make her life more bearable, make difficulties with the family of
574 the parents-in-law, and instead of doing good to their daughter they make her situation more and more difficult.

422 Besides these abnormal visits, it is necessary to point out a
58 custom completely singular in a patriarchal organization, with the system of the "large family," in which the daughter-in-law and all that belongs to her is the property of her husband and his family. This custom is that the young married woman keeps her jewels, her ornaments, her best clothes, and all that is dear to her not at the home of her husband but at her own mother's. There she has two or three trunks which her parents take care of but whose keys she keeps. On festive occasions the married woman herself goes to her parents' home to get her best clothes, or she sends someone to get them. Yet at her husband's home /85/ she also has one or two trunks in which she keeps her less important things and those of her children. This general custom offends neither the husband nor his family; all the same it may be the occasion of many disagreeable consequences. Indeed, it is thanks to this "strongbox" that dishonest women find a place to conceal things unfairly acquired in the family of the parents-in-law; again it is there that the presents offered by a too assiduous lover repose, etc. The T'ou-jen all recognize that this custom is not ideal, but they are powerless to make it disappear. (1)

171

1. Shirokogoroff, p. 61: The adoption of a woman by the new clan is symbolised by a prayer addressed to the spirits of her husband's clan and a visit to the tomb of her husband's ancestors. Besides, in the course of the marriage ceremony she must execute some other rites symbolising her adoption by her husband's clan.

Among the northern Tungus the woman, after she is married, is not so closely bound at her husband's clan, and she is always considered as belonging to her mother's clan.

/101 cont'd/

Ma 595 842 sterility. In such case both wives are called "grand wife" in opposition to the concubines called "secret (to be hidden) young wife." /Cited in English./

Mo 595 842 exception.

Therefore in well-off families polygamy will often be seen where there are only one or two daughters; and at the same time one will not always meet two wives in rich families where there are very few children. How can one explain these facts?

Mo 593 171 It is that polygamy among the T'ou-jen remains in practice a very delicate and complex problem. In the family circle the T'ou-jen wife occupies a position much more important than the one which the Chinese wife occupies; in addition T'ou-jen family /102/ life is more intimate than Chinese family life. It proceeds from there that the T'ou-jen wife has more influence on the husband than her Chinese sister has. As schools are rare and intellectual formation among the men is almost nil, the wife will not be inferior to men in that direction. Let us suppose now that she has been able to make herself more or less appreciated by her husband, or let us suppose that having one or two children she is categorically opposed to the introduction of a second wife into the home; or let us suppose that she has won over to her side her /his?/ own parents and that they show themselves displeased with the project; or let us suppose that the wife suggests the word suicide... and then how many suppositions are still possible when one knows that the heart of a jealous woman is an inexhaustible source of expedients... and we shall understand that in practice polygamy bristles with numberless difficulties. As a general rule, if there are no serious motives which enter into it, like sterility or one of the causes explained below: a simple stray impulse, a desire of the lower instinct, even wealthiness, these alone are not enough for practicing polygamy.

Mo 595 589 b) The second category of polygamists: widows, or the levirate.

/113 cont'd/

587 593 764 The conditions the family lays down are the following: the sons will remain the descendants of the dead man; they will continue to bear his name and will later be buried in their father's cemetery. The new husband will bring them up and feed them. When they reach marriageable age, he will buy them a wife, or he will give the family the required sum ad hoc; then he will be able to send away the married ones, who will provide for their own subsistence. As for the daughters, he will be able to sell them. Since he obligates himself for expenses which so many burdens necessitate, the family does not demand any compensation for the widow.

587 589 578 421 /114/ It often happens that as a consequence of misunderstandings and quarrels, the brothers divide up the property and debts among themselves and form independent families. When a widow of such a family wants to remarry, the family requires the new husband to recognize the debts of the dead man; and the creditors exert pressure on the family to prevent the marriage in case of refusal; but if they are lucky enough to be dealing with a virago who threatens to come with her children and live with them, the difficulties vanish, the debts are put on the children's account and will be demanded later when the children are grown.

587 428 593 In the case where the widow with her children has inherited several plots of land from her dead husband, the new husband will be able to work them to support his family, but he will not be able to sell them since they are the property of the male orphans /sic/. Once they are married, the latter can demand these lands and send their foster father away with their mother, which often happens; if they get along well, they stay together. If, on the other hand, the new husband has lands of his own, and the widow does not, he maintains the family, gets the sons married, and sends them away. If, during the marriage the family becomes richer, if the patrimony increases, and children are born of the new marriage, the children of the first husband will receive the share of their dead father plus half of the lands and assets acquired after the second marriage. The personal properties of the new husband are inherited by his own children. If the husband happens to die without leaving children, his personal

/114 cont'd/
Mo 587 428 593 assets and his widow being the property of his own family, they go back into its domain.

These conditions show clearly that the widow is considered to have left the family of her former parents-in-law completely; the latter have given up all the rights they had with respect to her and Mo 589 have entrusted the children to her with the obligation to raise them for their clan.

Mo 584 587 675 When such a marriage is made, a contract is always written in duplicate; /115/ one copy is kept by the husband, and the other is given to the family of the former parents-in-law of the widow. In it minute mention is made of properties, debts, ... and then of the obligations of the new husband.

Mo 582 If they remain poor after the marriage and find it impossible to marry off the sons, when the latter have grown up they end up by going away as they wish.

Mo 587 591 There is no abduction to fear in the present case; the marriage takes place very simply and openly. If the widow has plots of land and the husband does not, he comes to live with her; in the opposite case, the widow with the children moves in with him. If neither one nor the other has anything, they look for a place to stay and go to live together. One prostration to heaven and to the spirits, in the presence of the go-between and the parents, and this is all the ceremony of such marriages; add to it another to the parents and to the go-between. (1)

Mo 428 589 425

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit.[1], p. 142: If the widow and her daughters do not wish to be cared for by their husband's and father's brothers, they may also receive a part of the property. This part is equal to that of a brother. In this way the woman may become the owner of land and house. But this ownership can be maintained only during two generations (from mother to daughter) because the bride's

[1. op. cit. ie: Social Organisation of the Manchus --- Analyst.]

/117 cont'd/
606 lose their rights of inheritance in their family of origin, but since
691 /118/ they are regarded as members of the wife's family, they get back their lost rights. Cases are even cited where they become head in the wife's family. That is the general law fitting this practice.

593 Now the T'ou-jen live at present under a patriarchal system,
608 which is incompatible with this custom. Consequently, it is not
606 surprising that the husband-son-in-law finds himself in a very dis-
554 advantageous position....

[551] Since there has been no adoption of the son-in-law into the wife's family, he continues to be called by the name of his father, he and his children; he continues to be a member of his paternal family, to honor the dead of his father's family, and to lend a hand to his family of origin in cases of vengeance, etc. Thus in theory he keeps the rights of inheritance in his paternal family. But since these sons-in-law usually belong to very poor families, the chance to enjoy their rights of inheritance very rarely presents itself.

I have, however, met the case in question two or three times, and each time the brothers who had stayed home tried to eliminate the husband-son-in-law on the pretext that he had not contributed to the acquiring of the family's property. However, the unfortunate one always succeeded in making the most of his rights, if not wholly at least in part.

That amply proves that the husband-son-in-law living with the parents-in-law to serve them until death is in a false position with respect to his family of origin.

His position with respect to his wife's family is no better. Indeed, under the patriarchal system, succession is paternal. The name of the son-in-law differs from that of his wife's family; now we have seen "another name, another family," the son-in-law then does not have the right of inheritance to make the most of here. This is what explains the fact that one will never see young people of a well-to-do family consent to making themselves husband-sons-in-law, and that only those who have nothing to lose will take this
608 path.
606 /119/ If the parents-in-law are poor, there will be no difficul-
428 ties for this combination on the part of their own family; if, on the

/128 cont'd/

858 same right as his cousins, sons of his mother's brothers. The reason
588 given for this is that the mother, at the time of her son's birth, was no longer a girl but quite married, since she was wearing her hair in the fashion of wives. But suppose that the young woman, as a result of difficulties with a sister-in-law or with her parents, or having simply found a match which she likes, marries again at a "second" wedding, then she can either take her son with her, and he loses
[128] ipso facto his rights to inheritance in his mother's family, and he must change his family name and inherit in the family of his new father (for by the change of name he falls into the category of adoptive children), or else the grandmother opposes the departure /129/ of her daughter's son, and he stays in his mother's family, keeping his rights.

848 It often happens that neither the grandmother nor the mother
792 keeps the child but that they entrust him to a lamasery. Lamas no
178 longer having the right of inheritance, these children disappear from public life. This category of children are sent to the lamasery probably to avoid difficulties which arise later at the time of the division of property, either on the part of the uncles or the nephews, just as when the mother takes the child to the home of her new husband and the latter adopts him as his son, which makes one suppose that these children's right to inherit is nowadays no longer very stable. One feels a period of transition in the custom. We are here in the presence of a practice which must have been more general in olden times and which has its roots in an organization which is not patriarchal.

562 These girl-mothers are received in all groups and are regarded
588 as virtuous women in spite of the fact that people know this custom is
593 considered abominable in the eyes of their Chinese neighbors. These women are recognized as being married; for, they say, their marriage took place in the manner of the marriage of girls, in the courtyard of the house, in front of the sacred fire. Their children are recognized as children of the clan, and they are given the name of their mother. In T'ou-jen families, when a brother dies, leaving only daughters, his brothers inherit his property; the daughters indeed do not inherit; but when this brother has a daughter of the category of which we

/129 cont'd/

562 588 593 speak, and when she has a son, then the brothers of the deceased will not have the right to demand his property for themselves. In addition, these same brothers who would not permit their brother to bequeath his property to his daughter and a son-in-law not adopted into the clan recognize the right of inheritance of a niece married to a prayer pole and of her children.

As long as the girl-mother stays home with her children, it is rare that difficulties arise; but often the situation changes when the woman is married at a "second" wedding /130/ and her children are still young. Then the woman's uncles, if she has no brothers, or these brothers if she has any, try to make her take her children with her and have them adopted by the new husband. They want to secure the property of the brother for themselves; for the property of the clan cannot pass to another clan. If the sons of the girl-mother are married at the time when she marries for the second time, there is no longer anything to fear for their rights. Let us note again that for these women, when they later remarry someone of their choice, there is no festivity as at the marriage of girls; they are satisfied with inviting a few neighbors. The second marriage can, in a way, be compared to a widow's marriage; however, such a woman will never have to fear being abducted.

The present case then is very strange in a society which, today, has strictly paternal descent. The fact that these rights are universally recognized is a sign that they date from far back; also the T'ou-jen cannot explain their origin and simply admit the fact.

B. Marriages to a Belt

588 184 574 837 These marriages, although they are as abnormal as those of the preceding series, nevertheless seem to constitute a separate series. First, they are practiced less than those we have just described, and then their origin does not seem to be the same. They find their explanation in the custom of offering, for the night, a girl or a woman to a passing guest; in short, it is prostitution for the sake of hospitality. (1)

588 /131 cont'd/
574 children born later will continue to be always given the name of the
[858] guest. It goes without saying that the latter does not bother in any way with the support of either the child or the woman.

[428] Important remark: No right of inheritance is recognized for these children in the family of their mother. They are considered as the children of a daughter married to some individual, for they bear another name; now, another name, another family.

588 This curious custom finds its place in the series of marriages
554 because it creates a legal position in favor of the mother identical in every way to that of any married woman. The woman married to a belt is considered the wife of husband X and no one will ever venture to abduct her.

588 /132/ Marriages to a belt and those to prayer poles resemble each other strongly; the manner of celebrating them is the same; women who have contracted these marriages are considered as duly married, and the children, in the two groups, are recognized as legitimate. The only difference between the two groups of marriages lies in the fact that those of the prayer-pole group are recognized by the mother's clan, and those of the other are considered as not belonging to this clan. Those of the prayer-pole group seem to be direct vestiges of one of the stages of the matriarchate; indeed, they bring about inheritance in the family by the daughter. Those of the second group, on the contrary, by the fact that the woman and the children are considered as having left the clan, do not seem to have this origin; but if the prayer-pole marriages had not existed formerly, those of the belt group would never have been practiced.

588 The following item throws a singular light on this category of
593 marriages. A certain Tchang-kia-pa of Hong-ngai-tse-keou had a daughter married to a belt, mother of a small child; in addition, he had a married son at home. As a consequence of continual friction between the daughter married to the belt and the daughter-in-law, the first sought a match, married, and left the paternal home, taking away her son. Thus a certain Hou Iu-leang bought her as his second wife for the sum of 200 strings of cash.

After five or six years, at the time of the great fair and festivities of Wei iuen-p'ou which take place in the second moon, a

/132 cont'd/

588 Chinese of Honan, accompanied by an uncle of the lady formerly
593 married to the belt, accosted Hou Iu-leang and reproached him for having taken his wife. The latter no longer recognized the individual; but, since he had a witness, since the child was formerly called by his name and the mother had also born this name, the supposed husband felt himself very much within his rights and threatened Mr. Hou with a lawsuit.

/133/ Hou, fearing the heavy expenses of the Chinese courts and not sure of a fair verdict, preferred to settle the affair amicably. He called upon the heads of the village and those of his clan, and the conclusion was that Hou had to pay the unknown man 80 strings of cash and that the father who had sold his daughter had to offer him a sheep and make apologies to him. This story thus proves that this category of marriages is officially recognized among the T'ou-jen.

/134/

Chapter IV

Divorce, Repudiation, Exchange of Wives

586 One can expect divorces and repudiations, owing to the too
184 great freedom which exists between the sexes. These two forms of termination of marriage rarely occur when there are several children in the family. Repudiation occurs more rarely than divorce, and the latter is not so frequent as one might suppose at first sight. Let us still remember that divorce and repudiation, like all the great acts
[671] of life, marriage, adoption, etc., are effected without the intervention of law courts. As long as they can arrange things among themselves, they do not resort to the law; they call upon its help when all other means of conciliation are exhausted.

/135 cont'd/

586 and will if need be help her in the task. Thus the wife maintains face; she will be able to say that she did not want her husband any more, and he will not have any difficulties with his wife's family either, since it is the daughter who wanted to go away. In the end, the husband will even profit greatly by the sale of his wife. On the other hand, if the wife insists on not wanting to look for another match, the husband will be patient and will not resort to repudiation except as a last extreme. That is the ordinary course of the preambles to divorce.

/136/ 2. Causes of Divorce

593 The causes of divorce appear to be more or less numerous.
586 The primary and most ordinary cause is certainly interest in another person, which brings on mutual and daily increasing aversion between the husband and wife. A wife can fall and that is understood; the husband will even allow his wife not to come home at night from time to time, for he himself does not come home regularly every evening, either. Grounds for divorce require regular and therefore public relations.

626 Do not think, however, that husbands give complete freedom
837 to their wives; do not believe that all husbands are indifferent to
539 these things. They tell about a good many cases in which the wife and her lover, having been surprised at night, were tied together or
837 tied to a stake, beaten, etc., by the heads of the village with whom
672 the husband had lodged a complaint. The families of the guilty ones were called, they had to act as guarantors for their members; then the guilty man had to offer his apologies to the injured husband and give him a pig, a sheep, etc. The level of morality among the T'ou-jen has not yet fallen so low that they no longer know their duties and rights in these matters. So it is not rare to see a husband beat his wife and to hear the wife, on her knees, beg her husband, "Big brother, pardon me this time; big brother, treat me with indulgence this time, that won't happen any more." Now one does not ask pardon and one does not allow oneself to be beaten when one's conscience is clear.

/142 cont'd/

Ma 586 (earnest). They pay it back only in the case, if it is paid and the bride runs away with someone else just before the wedding. Such cases are absolutely exceptional... all this question must be reported to the clan. /Cited in English, with French interpolation, indicated by parentheses./

Mo 586 A case can occur in which the wife is the only guilty one. It is natural then that the wife's family does not require compensation, etc. I have never, however, heard it said that the guilty wife's family had to give back to the injured son-in-law the earnest received at the time of the marriage.

Mo 586 554 /143/ On the question of repudiation let us note that it is necessary to take account of many circumstances, of which one of the main ones is the economic status of the wife's family, the influence this family enjoys in the region, and above all the fact of having among its members people who will know how to cope with the husband's family in spite of everything. One must also take into account the power of the husband's family, which if it has influential protectors can allow itself to be prepared for all eventualities. In the Orient especially, it is not enough to have rights, it is necessary to be able to defend them.

C. Exchange of Married Women

Mo 437 593 587 I cannot pass by in silence the case of four families of Hong-ngai-tse-keou, who without recourse to divorce or repudiation got rid of their wives by mutually exchanging them, without further ceremony; the children remained in the families where they were born. All was arranged without go-betweens, contract, or expenses, by common agreement among those concerned.

These are the only cases of this practice which have come to my knowledge, and I think they are isolated cases which prove

Mo 437 593 587 /143 cont'd/ nothing. Public opinion strongly disclaimed this practice and the elders did not admit it. (1)

HT 437 587 1. David Macdonald, Moeurs et coutumes des Thibétains /Practices and Customs of the Tibetans/, p. 136: Another singular usage, but one which is practiced only in high circles, is that two men exchange their wives by mutual consent. The latter are consulted on the question, and their consent to the combination must be obtained.

Dr. Herbert König, op. cit., p. 137: Wife Exchange. It is also incorrect when Graebner says that it is precisely in the region of the Old Asiatic peoples that the custom flourishes most.... It is much more common generally among the Eskimo tribes known so far, and it is present among practically all of them, while among the Old Asiatics it is not known at all by the Korjak, far from it, and the Jukugir, too, have only a weak tendency toward it. /Cited in German./

Mo 587 437 593 177 /144/ I think I must point out the influence of Tibetan practices especially for this singular case. Indeed, each year one sees several T'ou-jen of Hong-ngai-tse-keou go to Tibet to sell mules from the Sining region. It would not be surprising if these T'ou-jen traders learned about this custom in Tibet and practiced it later.

2: Schram--161 M-4,5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

/145/

Chapter V

Runaway Wives

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593 It is not rare to see the daughter-in-law flee to the paternal home after a quarrel at the house of the parents-in-law. In this case, the latter /sic/ quietly await the arrival of the son-in-law in order to hear his explanations. If he does not bother with the fugitive, the parents of the runaway woman get a go-between so that he may go to make inquiries. Since usually both sides are at fault, the go-between will come back to bring back the daughter-in-law in order to make her apologize to her parents-in-law; the son-in-law will accompany her to present his apologies also to his wife's parents.

The exhortations to the daughter-in-law are very typical in the sense that they are rather platonic, even fatalistic: You are a daughter-in-law, they will say, therefore you have to suffer some vexations, even some humiliations; but know well that it is not for all your life; for the adage says, one is a daughter-in-law for only 30 years and then one is oneself the mother-in-law for the same term of years. Console yourself!

This running away within the family rarely leads to important consequences, but there is another kind of running away which is much more serious. Indeed, if repudiation rarely occurs and if divorce is not frequent, the flight of a wife with her lover happens oftener.

The causes of such misadventures are the great freedom of relations between the sexes before as well as after marriage, and especially at the time of festivities; the vexations of mothers-in-law, the /146/ unfortunate unions between young people of too different character, and above all the too great difference in age which often exists between husband and wife. The husband is not nubile and the wife is six or seven years older than he; the wife has begun by treating her husband as a child and has enjoyed authority. Later when the husband wants to take up his rights, then it is that the difficulties begin. Furthermore, the wife meanwhile has already learned to

/146 cont'd/

578 amuse herself... and has already had too many relations... one fine
593 day she disappears. This is the big affliction of the region. When a wife has run away, they immediately guess who her accomplice is; but it is necessary to be able to locate them. If the inquiries made about them are fruitless, after several days the son-in-law will go to his wife's family, pretending to believe that his dear better half is at their home and that he will find out about her return. This is also a way of informing the parents about their daughter's flight.

If after five or six months the fugitive has not come back, her parents require the son-in-law, accompanied by two aides, to go to get her at his expense; there is always some indication as to where she is. If they have exact information, they go to the headmen of the place to demand that they get hold of the fugitives so that they can bring them back home tied up.

684 Upon their return to the village, the village heads and the
627 members of the families of the lover and the wife are called. In the
681 presence of the whole populace, who very much relish this kind of distraction, the village heads begin the preliminary investigation of the affair. The case is examined to the bottom, and finally the lover is badly beaten and hung up by the thumbs until someone turns up who will act as guarantor for him. Then comes the woman, who is beaten on her bare back with leather lashes for as long as she does not manifest her regrets while adding good resolves for the future. Then the two culprits are taken through the village and exposed to the mockery of all; a herald precedes them, beating a drum and proclaiming their crime. It may happen that an indemnity on the part of the lover's family may be asked for the wrong done to the husband.

586 /147/ The wife goes back into the house; if she brings a child
681 born during the escapade, he is accepted into the family.

But it may also happen that the runaways are not found. Then after two or three years of vain search, the wife's parents demand a settlement of accounts. The parents-in-law then invite the parents of the runaway daughter-in-law, as well as her maternal uncles, the village heads, and several friends who are good speakers, for it will be a question of tseou che jen ming, i.e., "the indemnity (to the parents) for the loss of their daughter occasioned by her running away."

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586 681 Indeed, the parents claim that their daughter, as a consequence of bad treatment on the part of the parents-in-law, was forced to leave home, ran away, and must have perished nobody knows where. The parents-in-law are therefore responsible for her death..., and the discussion begins. On both sides they are convinced that the daughter is just as guilty as the parents-in-law, if not more; they also know very well that the daughter is alive. Everyone understands that the parents want to profit by the occasion in order to raise money on the backs of their family by marriage. After long discussions, which can last two days and more, they end up by having to give to the parents of the runaway a sum of two to three hundred strings of cash as indemnity for the daughter-in-law, who is deemed to be lost. A contract is written by which it is recognized that the affair is shelved forever and that in the future the parents-in-law will no longer be able to try to pick a quarrel with the son-in-law nor extort money a second time..., furthermore, should the daughter return, they bind themselves to pay back the indemnity. As for this last clause, it is gone with the wind; the adage says besides: "Once the flesh has entered the wolf's mouth, it is not easy to pull it out again."

586 583 681 Nevertheless, if the daughter comes back after several years with her lover, or if she has been taken and brought back forcibly, they act as above with the runaways of this category; however they require more serious guarantees and a larger indemnity on the part of the lover's family. It happens very often that on /148/ this occasion they sell the woman to her lover if he has the wherewithal to pay for her. They likewise sell him the children born during the long absence. If the wife is not sold, she goes back to her home and is again admitted into the family circle with the children born to her while away, for, says the adage: "What grows on my land is mine and what my wife gives birth to is mine."

586 593 However one can believe that the parents are scarcely delighted with such presents, especially when children are not lacking in their home. Indeed, the adage says: "The cow to be robust must run on the mountain, but it must come home to the stable." If the comparison is not elegant, it makes one think of the nomadic life. The

Mo 586 593 /148 cont'd/ children are accepted in the family to keep the daughter-in-law home better, say the T'ou-jen, and to avoid a second escapade. Then, if later one wants to get rid of them, one will send the boys to the lamasery to devote themselves to the service of Buddha; as for the girls, they will be given in marriage. I confess I have not met polyandry among the T'ou-jen.

Mo 548 Likewise, prostitution in the strict sense of the word is not known. Although there are the series of prayer-post wives and belt wives, they cannot be classed in this category. Indeed, they consider themselves as being married, and they are considered as such, and furthermore they hardly ply the trade of prostitutes. (1)

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1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 152: Prostitution as a social phenomenon among the Manchus is unknown. /Cited in English./

Mo 589 793 Celibacy is practiced solely by the lamas of the yellow sect, and the T'ou-jen furnish a sizable contingent to this religious body. They are the only bachelors among the T'ou-jen. There is no lamasery for women in the country; all the women without exception Mo [302] practice marriage under one or the other of the forms we have described above. It happens at the very most that one meets widows or women of advanced age who shave their heads and devote themselves especially to prayer while staying at home.

/149/

Chapter VI

The Matriarchate

005 Summary: -- A. Present-day patriarchal state. System of the large family. B. Former matriarchate proved by: (1) Double burial. (2) The relations of the maternal uncle with the family of his sister

/154 cont'd/

3. Importance of the Mother, the Daughter-in-law, the Chilu, the Maternal Clan

593 562 a) Abnormal interference in the marriage of her children.

In a patriarchal organization the wife does not own anything, she does not count; even her children do not belong to her. Is it not necessary therefore to explain the predominant position of the mother in the marriage rites as being a vestige of a /155/ former matriarchate?

593 562 Indeed, the wedding "seems" even in our day to be the business of the mother alone. Without speaking of the marriage promises made between mothers as yet only pregnant, we have seen that the official request for the bride is made by the mother alone. The consent given to the mother alone enjoys all the necessary guarantees so that they can allow themselves to wait four or five years more before getting a go-between. Likewise, when the earnest is discussed, it is again the mother alone who goes to ask for the girl to be married at an early date; only after the mother's request does the go-between appear in order to set the date and the rest. For marriages without ceremony it is the mother again who, with the go-between, goes in complete simplicity to get the bride who is poor. This fact is very significant. Along the way, what the sobbing bride fears most is that they will curse her by cursing her mother; this is the greatest injury that can be done to her.

606 587 593 When one examines present-day customs concerning young widows, one finds it abnormal in a patriarchal organization that the young widow after the 49 days of mourning goes back to her mother's family to stay there until her second marriage. Indeed, she is the property pure and simple of her parents-in-law. It is likewise abnormal that the go-betweens, at the time of the second marriage, address themselves to her own parents before addressing her mother-in-law. Does not that recall the time when the daughter was married at home and had no mother-in-law?

After addressing the mother, the go-between goes to the home of the widow's parents-in-law, and there again he accosts first the mother-in-law, just as if she had the widow-bride at her disposal

/155 cont'd/

606 ahead of all the other members of the family. What is typical is that
587 they call the money given to the mother-in-law k'ai k'eou ts'ien,
593 "the sum which opens her mouth," for if she does not open her mouth, that is to say, if she does not consent, the marriage comes to nought.
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b) Succession on the maternal side.

562 Without admitting a former matriarchate, how can one explain
593 the situation of the women in the series of marriages to the prayer
88 pole, etc.? In this case the "girl-mother" is seen to enjoy all the rights of a married woman, her children bear her name and inherit in her clan beside the children of her brothers. This is certainly the case which makes kinship, order of succession, and the property of the family pass on the mother's side. This single case which continues to exist in the middle of a patriarchal period in which the children of daughters as well as their mother are considered as outside the family, deserves all attention.

c) Admission into the family of children born of outsider fathers.

848 Is it not permitted to see vestiges of the matriarchate in the great facility with which they admit into the family the children of daughters-in-law and widows, born certainly of fathers who are outsiders; partus sequitur ventrem /"offspring proceed from the womb"/: they recognize only the mother. We have seen that here they are in a period of transition which begins to make this practice more and more difficult.

562 d) Frequent family visits of the daughter-in-law and right to
421 keep her property at her mother's home.
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574 Again what can be said of the abnormal custom which allows the daughter-in-law these frequent visits and these long vacations with her family? This custom is not natural in a patriarchal organization where the daughter-in-law is the property of her husband, and where she must give this clan her life, her time, and all her work. This custom gives the impression that the daughter, after marriage, always continues to live with her own family and not that of her husband, (1) all the more /157/ because she keeps at her parents' home

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1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., pp. 90-91: The second long visit of the newly married wife in her mother's house may be also understood as a survival of the customs that prescribed to the newly married wife to keep her place in her mother's house. Furthermore the Manchus never say "the wife's father's clan" but "the wife's mother's clan." At the same time they say " he husband's clan" and "the husband's father's clan." Thus all these facts cannot be explained without a supposition of the materline clan system in the past. /Cited in English./

Mo 562 421 593 574 her finest clothes, her ornaments, her jewels, and everything that is dear to her. One keeps one's treasures at one's home; now, the home of the daughter-in-law does not seem to be near her husband. This last custom, which still effectively recognizes that the wife today has certain property rights, does not belong to a patriarchal organization; furthermore, we saw in the speech of the master of ceremonies that formerly the daughter enjoyed property tights since in her own family she inherited half of a son's share.

e) Festivities at the birth of daughters.

Mo 527 844 We shall describe elsewhere the extraordinary noisy festivities in which the whole village takes part, given on the occasion of the birth of the first child of a daughter-in-law, whether this child be a son or daughter, the celebration is equally solemn. Now such a festivity upon the birth of a daughter is again absolutely abnormal in a patriarchal system, where only the male descendant counts. We must Mo note that already in many T'ou-jen families this festivity is celebrated [171] only upon the birth of the first son. This celebration is absolutely inconceivable to a Chinese mind.

f) Wedding dinner at the bride's home.

Mo 585 562 In a patriarchal system how does one justify the dinner given at the bride's home for the members of her family alone on the eve of

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IV. Customs concerning the Human Being

* See "Notes," p. 622 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

846 [851] [431] [553] [527] [352] Soon after the birth of a child one makes the happy event known to the family of the mother of the woman in childbed. The mother then comes to visit her daughter. The other relatives, however, come only after one month. They bring gifts and hold a feast. On the morning of this day the child is solemnly given a name, and in the evening it is brought before the gate of the yard for the reception of the shepherd. Then there is singing and drinking and dancing into the night.

Details

Birth announcement: Three days after the birth of a [851] boy or girl, the father-in-law of the woman in childbed takes a little jug of liquor and some oil-baking and goes to the family [273] of his daughter-in-law. It is immediately apparent why he has come to visit, and he need only tell the day and the hour of birth and whether it is a boy or girl. After they have drunk the [593] liquor, the mother goes directly to her daughter in order to take care of what needs to be done. She stays there a few days and then often repeats her visit.

846 431 Conclusion of the confinement: Exactly 29 days after the birth, in other words, on the thirtieth day, the parents and nearest relatives of the woman in childbed appear at her husband's house. They bring clothing for the child [621] and [262] the woman (a long upper garment and shoes) and, further, four large loaves of bread, oil-cakes, and other baked goods. The

764 [637 cont.]
465 his work and, in addition, twelve
322 loaves of bread, two ells of white cloth, and a small measure of wheat (six pounds). After the work is done, this measure of wheat is put on the house-
[782] hold altar, and the carpenter puts his tools on it. The master of the household sticks a few burning incense-sticks among them and puts the loaves before them. Then everyone makes a three-
[532] fold kowtow (7). The carpenter does not receive the white cloth until the funeral meal.

Death-box
(Drawing of a Tujen)

7. [Foreign text p. 653.] This ceremony actually has nothing to do with the death-box. It is customary after all carpentry work; it is done to honor the tutelary god of the carpenter, Lu-pan-yeh. It is a Chinese custom.

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764 Lying in state: If the box is already available at death, the corpse is immediately put in it. If it is not yet ready, then the people put the dead in a crouching position on the kang or on the floor of the room in which he died. First, however, they lay down a white felt mat as a pad; straw is not used. No one may sleep or live in the same room with the dead, only in an adjoining room. A table with 12 loaves of bread, which come from the deceased's own family, and a water-lamp stand before the crouching corpse.

[462] Putting the corpse in the box is always done by men. The
[543] son puts his father and mother inside. The father, however, never puts his son in; that is taken care of by the young brothers or cousins.

[638 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 654 cont.] on the oil. This is to prevent the wick from burning too far down into the bowl; in order to save oil, the lower half is filled with water. --

[171]

The Chinese dough-lamp of long life, ch'ang-ming teng, has nothing to do with this lamp; it is unknown to the Tujen.

the deceased's own family must present these gifts. A so-called paper-bowl also stands on the floor next to the bread and the water-lamp. After each meal some tea, soup, or milk is poured into it, and little pieces of meat, bread, vegetable, etc. [264] are thrown in, according to what the family has just eaten. Until the day of cremation the dead is always supposed to partake of the meals of the household. The paper-bowl is an ordinary earthen bowl; it gets its name from the fact that after the paper-burning the charred leaves are thrown in it (11). Along with the

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11. [Foreign text p. 654.] The paper-burning is typically Chinese.

water-lamp it is emptied in front of the gate on the last day, when the death-box leaves the compound for cremation. It is not broken, but may be used again for other purposes.

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On the third day after the death, the oldest married daughter of the household appears with 12 loaves of bread. Then the family loaves before the death-box are replaced by the daughter's loaves. This is called "bread exchange." This takes place each time a person makes an offering of loaves. The oldest daughter is followed in order by the younger ones, whether or not the corpse has already been put in the box. Unmarried [589] daughters of the household do not make offerings. Every time [152] someone offers loaves, he also burns white paper and weeps aloud; the men, it is true, do not weep (24).

[638 cont.]

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24. [Foreign text p. 657.] A custom that is no longer practiced among the Tujen was the eating of oil-dishes on the eve of the cremation, bǎn-sáń tsinani, that is, one cooks oil-dishes. The daughters and their girls (nieces) brought a measure of wheat flour and a jug of oil. Both would be roasted together in a kettle after the pai-ta and handed around. It was kneaded into dumplings like tsamba. -- Similar old Tujen customs have now been forgotten, according to the informant. The extensive customs of the Chinese are being adopted more and more, and in the foreseeable future the cremation of the dead will have yielded to the Chinese funeral celebration.

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Only after the corpse is in the box do the other relatives come, and the same rite is repeated. These are only the relatives on the father's side, however. The other acquaintances and friends also make an appearance with them. The relatives on the mother's side come only on the day before the cremation, regardless of whether the dead person is a man or a woman.

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With regard to the offerings for the dead, one must always distinguish whether a person of an older, a contemporary, or a younger generation is involved. The older generation never makes an offering to the younger, for example, the father never to the son. The man does make an offering to his wife, however, and vice versa. The man also makes an offering to his older sisters-in-law.

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Of the offering of 12 loaves of bread that each one brings, he gets two back; ten are used in the house of mourning and are eaten by the relatives or guests. The loaves that are returned are called "returned plate."

[638 cont.]

292 765 [171] Mourning dress: Mourning is worn immediately after the death. It does not consist of a special white garb, as among the Chinese, but only of a change of dress.

During the period of mourning the men remove their colorful vests and take everything colored off their clothing, such as neck bands, sleeve edging, etc. Their long cloak is turned and worn with the lining, or in winter with the fur, on the outside. [302] They do not cut their hair, and they let the beard grow. The red or green trouser belt made of cloth is replaced by [639] a white or black one. Instead of the clothes-belt they wear a thick hemp string.

Like the men, the women also remove the colorful sleeve strips, trouser trimming, and shoe and boot ornamentation, especially everything red. The red or green skirt over the trousers is not worn at all. Instead of the colorful clothes, the woman puts on only a simple upper garment of one color. She takes off the ear pendants, arm bands, and the neck band, and [301] removes from her headdress all lace, tassels, and hanging strings, as well as the silver hair cap [Haarschale] and the little copper plates. She keeps only the simple, rigid frame of the headdress and covers its colorful strips uniformly by sticking green paper on them. She puts a blue cloth made of coarse linen over this as a head veil. She replaces her broad and colorful belt with a hemp string.

[602] [593] All the close relatives are required to wear mourning dress, those who also must give the death-offering. The only exception is the husband upon the death of his wife. He may not wear mourning.

764 782 [602] Prayer service: The prayer service is called "prayer tea." The relatives on the father's side assemble daily in the house of mourning; toward evening they sit on the kang around the open fire in the kitchen and pray the mani for the dead on their mani-string. When they are finished, they receive noodle soup and go home. This prayer service lasts until the day of cremation. One need not sit around the kang fire, however, but can also perform these prayers before the death-box itself.

[646 cont.]
each and two ells of cloth.

At the next grave festival, which usually falls in the third lunar month, all the relatives gather at the kin-group cemetery for the offering to the dead; at that time the bone-chest is also transferred to it. A number of men go to the old burial spot at the place of cremation, dig up the chest, and bring [647] it to the cemetery without any ceremony. There they dig a small hole and put the chest in it. This is done only by men who are of the same generation as the dead person or of a lower generation. A father, for instance, would never bury his son, nor the uncle his nephew, etc.

As soon as the pit has been filled, the offering for the dead takes place; the relatives burn paper and little sticks of incense, set down loaves of bread, meat, etc., pour out tea, liquor, and soup, and hold a little meal at the grave. Then everyone goes home. -- The transfer of the bones, however, need not be done at the next grave festival; sometimes one waits two or three years. The bones may not be interred, however, outside the period of the grave festival (21).

21. [Foreign text pp. 656-657.] The Tujen word sẽn-miṅ is evidently merely a phonetic imitation of the Chinese ch'ing-ming. The informant said that the Tujen did not know about the grave festival in olden times, but that they have copied it from the Chinese, which indeed is confirmed by the precisely identical rites and the asserted former exposure of the corpse. -- The postponement [657] of a final interment of the bones until this feast, however, remains unexplained, especially since the Chinese usually bury their dead immediately in the cemetery. The informant observed in this connection that the Chinese inter their dead on

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

died during the year entered in the family register, and to bring back a piece of pork pie for each of the families in order that they might partake of the sacrificial meal offered to the ancestor at the cemetery. After more than two-hundred years, and notwithstanding the fact that no bonds bound them to the clan, the old ancestor cult still made them remember their origin and bound the clan tightly together. 771 769

The chief of the clan, at the time of his triennial visit to the villages, brings with him the picture of the guardian deity of the clan in order that all the villagers may honor it in a group and feel united, putting their hope in the protection of the same deity. A temple is built for the guardian deity of the clan inside the mansion of the clan chief, where it is honored by a lama chaplain every day of the year in order that the clan may be blessed. 614 769

This study has made clear the role of the chiefs of the villages in promoting the religious rites against the scourges of hail, epidemics, and epizootics, fixing the rite of the sacred animal, imposing even continence, prohibiting indulgence in liquors and garlic by the performers of certain rites, forbidding the singing of obscene songs in the village during the time the crops are growing in the fields, and assessing every family a certain contribution to defray the cult expenses. 614 771

All these religious functions of the chiefs of the clans and the villages promote cohesion among the clan members and strengthen the social structure of the institution. The keen interest displayed by the clan and village chiefs in devising means to avert the harm caused by evil spirits and to provide blessings of the ancestors and all the spirits upon the clan members cannot but tie the entire clan group by closer bonds and make it feel solidarity with the chiefs, in the struggle for life.

The fact of each family having an uncle, son, or nephew among the members of the lamaseries, even Living Buddhas, necessarily welds the families together in a strong united group. 593 769

In the Monguor families, the cult of the ancestors participated in by all the members of the extended family at New Year's and on the three days preceeding the clan diet, the cult of its old guardian deity protector inherited in each generation by the eldest son, the celebration every year, with all the members of the extended family contributing toward defraying the expenses to honor it, and the gathering of the whole family before this deity every time a branch of the divided families gets into serious trouble—all these facts provide solidarity in the family by religious means. The family chief not only cares for the administration of the wealth and support of its members, but he is its religious chief who, every morning, honors "Heaven and all the spirits" by means of the Wei-sang in behalf of them, and is their representative at the performance of the public rites in the village. His authority is, in large

[p. 159 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

part, based on religion and exercised in religious matters. 593 769

In the same way, the chiefs of the villages and the elders not only determine taxes, impose corvées and settle troubles, but preside over and perform religious rites without representatives of religions, on the top of the Obo mountain, or the sacred hill of the village, in time of calamities, on top of the highest mountain of the village, in behalf of all the villagers. They are the priests of the clan, promoting at the clan meeting, during the mediation of troubles, the principles of justice and respect for elders. They defend the traditions and customs of the clan of which the religious rites are a part, and urge their performance. To sum up, of the routine events and observances of village life, eight-tenths are religious.

The religious world to which the Monguors are accustomed is compulsory, and entirely different from that of the Chinese. It makes them feel that they are not Chinese, that the meaning of their lives is not the same as that of the Chinese and therefore that they are tightly bound to the community of their clan. The performance of religious rites over the span of a whole year constitutes a part of their traditions and customs. It helps tremendously in holding them close together, and prevents their absorption into the Chinese nation. 771 [186]

This fact is so striking that Monguors who, on account of political events, have become separated from their original communities, or who publicly have recanted their origin, still know perfectly well that they are Monguors. They always continue to indulge in some religious practices specific to the Monguors. Religion causes them to recall their origin.

XVI. CONCLUSION

The study of the diffusion of Lamaism among the Monguors sheds some light on the policy adopted by the emperors toward Lamaism. 648 771

POLICY OF CHINA TOWARD LAMAISM

It is common knowledge that the emperors promoted Lamaism. This policy has very often been explained as having been a device to debilitate the Mongol and Tibetan tribes, by encouraging enrollment in the monasteries of the largest possible number of the young, most turbulent elements of the tribes. Withdrawing the young from their tumultuous environment weakened the power of the tribes, who were always ready and poised to make inroads and work havoc in the marches on China. The entire history of the marches of China is replete with such tragic events. Alternatively, it has been suggested that this policy was founded on the hope that the barbarians would become peaceful and quiescent through contact with Lamaism.

The truth is that the Chinese were too conversant with their own history and too mindful of the harm

[p. 159(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Hsining city. The city was carried by storm and delivered to sack and slaughter: for the soldiers there was but death. The brigands knew that the t'u-ssu had stirred the people to resist the brigands, and they wreaked ruin on them. The old T'u-ssu Ch'i T'ing-chien (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 1*a–b*), and the T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 2*a*)· were taken prisoner. The T'u-ssu Li Hung-yuen (of the old Li Wen branch) was killed with his wife and 120 members of his family (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21; 28: 15; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 43*b*). The wife of Li T'ien-yu, the concubine, the two brothers, and 300 persons of his family and servants were killed. The same year the T'u-ssu Yeh kuo-chi, who had been called by the emperor early in 1643 to fight the brigands in Ch'ang p'ing in Liaotung, died on the field of battle in 1643 (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 15). All these t'u-ssu with their families laid down their lives defending the dynasty. 175× 669

Then the brigands went down into the country devastating, burning villages, murdering anyone who made a stand, abducting women, stealing livestock, etc. A group of them went to Kokonor, where all the chiefs surrendered.

The brigands knew that the old T'u-ssu Ch'i T'ing-chien had been the promoter of the resistance and had killed their chief Huo Chin. They decided to kill him. His son Hsing-chu spent the entire family fortune, buying 100 fine horses. He went to see the chief of the brigands in P'ing-Jung-i, hoping to redeem his father. The chief not only refused to accept the horses, but told him straight to his face that his father was to be killed. Then his brother Ping-chu protested, saying that his father had not killed Huo Chin, but that he himself was the murderer. The chief looked at him a long time and finally said, you are a filial son. He ordered the father to be bound to a car and to leave for Hsi-an. Hsing-chu cried the whole way home. However, his father was not killed (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 19*a*). 175× 577 593

His father was sent to Hsi-an, together with Li T'ien-yu. In T'ung Kuan they met the Manchu Prince Ah-Ki-Ko (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*a*). Both submitted to the newly established dynasty and were released. The Governor General Meng Ch'iao-fang, sent by the Ch'ing dynasty to pacify Kansu, had already arrived in 1645. He rehabilitated both t'u-ssu in their former office of commander of the clan, enjoining them to pacify the t'u-ssu of Hsining and Ho-hsi, to induce the Tibetans to be submissive, to abstain from revolts and to capture the rebel Tibetan Chao Chin-chung (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 2*a–b*; 31: 21; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 44*b*). To the T'u-ssu Li Hung-yuen who had perished with his wife and 120 members of his family the emperor later ordered built an honorific arch in Hsining with the inscription "Loyal servant and faithful wife, glory of the noble clan" (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 15*b*). 175× [211 703]

[P.52(A)]

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 769 614

ginning of April according to the lunar calendar, in a festival similar to the Chinese Ch'ing-ming. On this occasion the clan assembles to venerate its ancestors, enjoy a great feast and reunion, and discuss matters of concern to the clan.

On the day of the assembly, the T'u-ssu, the chiefs and elders of the villages and all the family heads go to the graveyard immediately after breakfast, followed by all the other members of the clan. At the graveyard, offerings are made and rites are performed. Then food for the offerings is divided among the families, the oldest generations receiving their portions first.

M [182] [767]

This annual veneration of the ancestors serves to reinforce the group unity of the Mongour clan. One of the family heads, usually of the nobility, is appointed to care for the graveyard during the following year. His duties include the collection of contributions and offerings, and the making of repairs. An assistant is assigned to help him with details.

b. Respect for elders and family heads

N *563 M 554 888

The Mongours once lived without chiefs, but never without village elders. Traditionally, the whole power of the clan was vested in the elders, who had the authority to appoint and dismiss chiefs. The village elders still take the most important part in local administration. Elders need not be rich or from noble stock, but they are men of good reputation from the more outstanding families.

N *563 M 554 592

Heads of families are also honored. At public meetings, all are allowed to express their views and defend their rights, but final decisions are made only after the heads of families have spoken.

c. Adultery

N *563 M 684

Adultery is looked upon as a serious crime. If caught, the guilty pair is flogged, the woman on her bare back, the man on bare buttocks and thighs, up to a hundred stripes. The man must confront the husband and make apologies, and present him with a sheep or a pig. A trial is held and fingerprints are taken. Then the pair is led through the village with drums beating while they make public confession of their sin, and they must secure an official statement of pardon.

d. Moral and legal concepts

N *563 M 183 M [593] 587 [421]

Both moral and legal concepts of the Mongours seem to be based upon customs, tradition and what the community accepts as just. Some typical social values and concepts are: Wrongs must be righted and injustices corrected. Parents have authority over their children, and husbands over their wives. A widow has the right to remarry or to dispose of herself. Private property must be protected. No one has the right to disturb the peace of the community.

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 562 852 [553]

first son is an occasion for great rejoicing. Various rituals are performed in connection with the name-giving, and the announcement of the birth to the grandparents on both sides. Everyone in the village is invited to a party, and relatives and friends bring gifts for the baby.

M [203] [604] [603] [553]

The birth of daughters and younger sons requires less elaborate celebration. Invitations are sent to the child's maternal uncles to be present at the name-giving ceremony, which is performed by the grandfather. It is thought that a woman's brothers have a powerful influence over the family into which her child is born, and therefore they must be notified properly.

M [184]

Poor families also celebrate the birth of the first son, although the ceremonies are less elaborate. If the family cannot afford the expense of a feast, rich people of the village often help them. It is not right to allow the birth of a first son to go uncelebrated, for he is the new link in the ancestral chain, and it is he who will grow up to make the sacrifices to the clan ancestor, an important concern to the Mongours.

j. Beard-growing

N *563 M 302 [593] [888]

A man may start to grow a beard on the first day of the first or second moon of the new year after his thirtieth birthday, but only if his parents are dead. He must not grow a beard while his parents are alive, as it would remind his parents of their advanced age and approaching death.

k. Wedding, funeral and grave

N *563 M 764 [191] [199]

The customs surrounding weddings, funerals and the construction of graves are almost the same among the Mongours as those practiced in traditional China. Their burial, however, is unique. Under the influence of Lama Buddhism, it has become the general custom of the Mongours to cremate their dead. The funeral rites are carried out by lamas. In the olden days, however, the T'u-ssu and the nobles were always buried.

4. Popular beliefs

N *563 M 843 562

Because of the importance of having a son, the pregnant woman is full of hopeful expectation. Everyone in the village knows about the coming event, and is interested in the sex of the child. It is believed that a male child lies on the left side of the womb, a female child on the right. The pregnant woman is watched carefully when she enters a doorway. If she steps over the threshold with her right foot, she is thought to be carrying a boy; if with her left foot, a girl. The logic behind this notion is that a boy makes the left side heavier than the right, so the mother will instinctively raise her right foot to make a step upward.

N *563 M 553 789

If several children in a family have died in infancy, the head of a family blessed with many children will be invited to name a newborn child, in the hope that some of his good luck may pass on the luckless family.